# UNITY

*FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION*

## Advance Movements in Judaism
*By Jacob J. Weinstein*


Our Children's Patriotism - *Dorothy Binder*

Captains of Industry - *Reginald A. Reynolds*

The Faith of Poetry - - - *Percy MacKaye*

The Far East (Book Reviews) - *Frederick Starr*

Trumpets on New Horizons



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## The Field

*"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."*

### Why Picket Munition Factories?

The idea first came to me through Mrs. Gangulee of India who spoke a year ago to the Boston members of the Women's Int. League for Peace and Freedom. She told us that the cause of peace needed women ready to sacrifice their freedom if necessary; for that resolutions and meetings would never arouse the general public to demand it but if we were willing to go out and picket as the Indian women were doing in front of liquor shops and stores selling English manufactured cotton, we could accomplish something. I decided then and there to picket munition factories and wrote to Dr. John Haynes Holmes for his reaction. He liked the idea but wanted me to organize a large international movement. This seemed wise so I wrote to a number of Americans and Europeans but got no offers of help except from the War Resisters International in London. Runham Brown wrote me Lord Ponsonby felt resistance to fighting was the way to stop war but he personally felt that picketing munition factories would be very useful and if we got an effective movement started, he felt sure the War Resisters International would cooperate. I will not say more of all the other people I wrote to except to say they thought it courageous but would not advise it or could not cooperate. One or two said they would, and did nothing. Lord Cecil wrote me he hoped I would be very successful.

Meanwhile time passed and nothing was being done, five months to be exact, and I then decided that it was up to me and the U. S. A. to show the way so I called for volunteers at a Fellowship of Reconciliation meeting and got Mrs. Ruth Mowrey, a colored clergyman and a young man. As Mrs. Mowrey was the only one to go with me and has been the only one so far, I shall not give the men's names.

I have three reasons for picketing:

1. To dramatize to the general public through newspaper publicity the menace to peace of the traffic in arms.

2. To arouse the munition workers to the cost of other workers'

*(Continued on Page 131)*

# UNITY

*"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"*

Volume CXII MONDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1933 Number 8

## LONG METRE PRELUDES OR POSTLUDES

I

**Let truth abound, and love be shown**
**Wherever human need is known;**
**For truth shall free, and love shall bind**
**In bonds of good all humankind**

II

**Our wills now turn—and turn our hearts—**
**To whence the Stream of Being starts;**
**That in our strife for perfect Good**
**The ills of life may be withstood.**

III

**Now may our inmost Being feel**
**The glory of the far Ideal!**
**And in the strength we have descried**
**May faith and will be fortified.**

IV

**The gracious Might of earth and sky**
**Pursues us though we live or die:**
**That Might—which may be ours—be praised!**
**And to its height our souls be raised.**

JAMES H. WEST.

---

For the life of us, we can't see how the President is helping on recovery by his currency policy. On the contrary, it seems to us as though he were recklessly, wantonly, throwing away a good part, if not all, of the great gain which he brought to this country through the magnificent *bravura* of his statesmanship in the first weeks after his inauguration. For what was it that Mr. Roosevelt achieved in those early days of his administration? A new hope, a fresh confidence, a changed psychology in the national life! In the last period of Mr. Hoover's regime, the morale of the country went all to pieces. Business men, workers, the public no longer trusted anybody, least of all themselves. Uncertainty was everywhere, fear on every horizon, panic just around the corner. Then came Mr. Roosevelt, with his sure hand and brave purpose. Within a week the mind of the nation was transformed. Courage displaced fear, confidence alarm. We were out of the bog and on the road again, and could drive straight and sure ahead. But *now*—the old confusion is back again! Morale is once more disintegrating like a sand-bank beneath a pouring wash of rain. And all because the President has undertaken an attack upon our currency which is not only destroying values but all confidence in the meaning of values. From the beginning of this whole depression, it has been evident that nothing was more necessary to recovery than a sound psychology. This President Roosevelt gave us. And now he is himself destroying his own proudest achievement by renewing an unsound psychology to match an unsound currency. Of course what the President is undertaking to do, apparently at any cost, is to raise prices. But of what avail are such prices when the money with which we try to meet them has no value? To boost prices 100 per cent, and then reduce the purchasing power of the dollar by an equal 100 per cent, seems to us to leave things just where they were, with the dubious addition of lost confidence. But, we are a fool —we don't understand!

---

Mr. Roosevelt's bold initiative is perhaps his finest quality. Even when we question its objective, as in this currency manipulation (see above), we admire the inner impulse of experiment and daring which prompt to action. More often than not, this initiative leads the President to fine achievement. The withdrawal of the fleet, for example, from the Pacific! This was a quick, sweeping move which stirred little comment amid the multitudinous other things which happened to be holding public attention at the moment. But it did more to ease the Japanese situation than a thousand words or a dozen well-calculated moves of strategic diplomacy. Still better was the recognition of Russia—a superb accomplishment, carried through with such dash, vigor, confidence and complete success that the opponents of any and all friendly relations with the Soviets had not time even to draw their breaths to speak a word of protest. Best of all, as we see it, is this new Civil Works Administration which at one stroke has put 2,000,000 men and women to work at regular weekly wages paid out of money allocated from the public works fund. This move has an *élan* which is all its own. The NRA was faltering, the PWA was not getting under way. Everything was dragging, or, as in the case of the AAA, going completely to pieces. The one fatal result was continued unemployment, stagnant purchasing power, and declining business. In such a crisis many a man would have hesitated, reconsidered, perhaps retreated. But Mr. Roosevelt, without a moment's undue delay, released into the situation a new

force, which was like a new regiment going into battle. He inaugurated this stupendous civil works program which is to end the idleness and pennilessness of millions, and start fresh money flowing through the channels of trade. Now if this money will only hold its value—but that's another story, already discussed. This editorial is about the CWA—and we say it's magnificent!

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We had thought that the final stages of lawlessness and horror had been reached years ago in the lynching business. But it remained for California's Governor, Mr. Rolph, to reach a depth of infamy never attained before. The storming of jails, the seizure of prisoners, the hanging and burning of limp, unconscious and broken bodies, the lustful cries of savage mobs and sadistic ecstasy of women and children—all this has long since become something of a commonplace in this American life of ours. But never before has this country seen a Governor, sworn to defend the law, become a participant with the lynchers in their bestial orgy. Rolph's offending was thrice monstrous. First, he refused to send aid to a sheriff battling for his own life as well as the lives of the prisoners in his keeping. Had this heroic and faithful official been slain, his blood would have been on the head of Rolph. Secondly, the Governor defended the mob in its violence and anarchy, and thus conspired for the overthrow of the very government which he was bound in law and in honor to defend. Thirdly, he deliberately incited the mob to do it again—and got his answer within twenty-four hours in the lynching in Missouri! There is something so incredible in this whole episode that one's reason reels and one's spirit turns sick and faint. The provocation, of course, was terrible—but it had been met by extraordinary promptness in the apprehension of the kidnappers, and in the sure promise of their swift conviction and punishment. Yet the mob broke loose, was given free rein by an irresponsible Governor, and a flame therewith kindled which may yet consume the nation. It is no mere "wise-crack" to point out that this Rolph, who thus pats lynchers on the back, is the same Rolph who refuses pardon to Tom Mooney. The two things go together, and show with awful clearness the temper of this country, or rather of the ruling classes of the country. Not reason but passion, not justice but terror, not law but violence are the dominant motives of our life. Where are we better than the Nazis?

---

Who dares now to attack the churches, after the spectacle of heroic Protestantism in Germany? We have done our share of attacking in our time, and still feel we were abundantly justified. But none the less our words of indictment turn in memory to dust and ashes as we look across the seas and behold the Lutheran pastors defying Hitler, as Luther himself defied Charles V, and as later the English clergy defied James II. Alone among all organized groups in the Reich, the church has resisted the tyranny of the dictatorship and refused to heed its will. "Der Führer" assumed lightly that he could handle the religious bodies exactly as he handled the universities, the trades unions, and the political parties. But now he is discovering his mistake. The church is ablaze with revolt—"the first serious resistance the Nazi movement has encountered," says the Berlin correspondent of the New York *Herald-Tribune,* "since the brown-shirt flood swept over Germany last spring." Look what took place on Sunday, November 19th last, when more than three thousand pastors stood up in their pulpits, and denounced the Chancellor. This is the *Herald-Tribune* account:

> From the pulpits of more than 3,000 German Protestant churches a defiant manifesto was read by the dissenting clergy this morning. They warned their flocks that, through the campaign of the "German Christians," as the Nazi Evangelical radicals headed by Bishop Joachim Hossenfelder style themselves, efforts were being made to substitute for the religion of Jesus Christ the ancient Germanic worship of Wodin. They declared that, owing to the tyranny of the Nazi extremists, "many Christians must submit their consciences to human leaders, in contradiction of the true efforts of the Church."
>
> Typical of the drama enacted today in cities, towns and villages in all parts of the Reich was what transpired in the Jesus Christ Church at Dahlem, a fashionable residential quarter of Berlin. Its pastor, Dr. Mueller (not to be confused with Dr. Ludwig Mueller, the Reichsbishop), one of the dissenting clergymen, preached from the text "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's."
>
> Dr. Mueller electrified his congregation by denouncing the Nazi's exaltation of the Germanic race as superior to all other races and the Nazi proposal to establish separate "ghetto churches" for German Protestants of Jewish extraction, a proposal which the pastor declared to be flagrantly in contravention to the teachings of Christ.

Remember, the terror is loose in Germany! In a land where freedom of speech is absolutely forbidden, the newspapers dare not print a word even about these events which are going on. But the ministers speak out, and dare Hitler to do his worst. Think of those three pastors whom the Nazis caused to be dismissed for resisting anti-Semitism, and who refused to accept removal from office, and have insisted on preaching as usual! What this may all come to, we do not know. We cannot believe that a rebellious Protestantism can defeat Hitler. Prof. Calvin Hoover says that Hitler's power "must be reckoned with as though it were permanent." But the church may save its honor if not its life, and vindicate Christ though it cannot destroy Caesar.

---

The religious census racket still amuses us enormously. Here's the latest—the estimate of Dr. G. L. Kieffer, statistician of the National Lutheran Council, that the Liberal churches in this country have a membership of 922,737 persons, the Evangelical Protestant churches a membership of 34,533,768, and the Roman Catholic churches a membership of 20,146,168! This makes a grand total of church members in America of

55,602,673. Believe it who can! We have a fairly good acquaintanceship with cities, and some acquaintanceship with town and country; and if one person out of every two is a church member, Liberal, Evangelical, or Catholic, then we are a four-footed animal and we have eyes in the back of our head. Dr. Kieffer is of course in good company in these estimates of his. Church statisticians all join in chanting these weird refrains of numerology. But he is unique in his classifications. P. T. Barnum's "happy family" was no wonder at all as compared with Dr. Kieffer's array of Liberal groups. All in one classification he lumps Christadelphians, Unitarians, Universalists, Latter Day Saints (Mormons), Ethical Culturists, Bahaists, Christian Scientists, Swedenborgians, Spiritualists, Theosophists, Divine Science, and Vedanta Society. An expert who can get Mormons into the same religious bed with Ethical Culturists, and Unitarians with Theosophists, is assuredly a genius. Liberalism covers a greater multitude of sects than charity of sins. After seeing this array, we shall be surprised at nothing any more that comes from our religious census authorities. Juggling is obviously not their pastime but their business, and wishes are invariably the fathers of "facts." Some day, we trust, the government will find it as important to take a census of religionists as of radios. Then we shall have results which are for the first time close to realities. And they will scare the natives!

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Some weeks ago a handsome buck-deer, weighing 200 pounds, got caught in a narrow rocky ledge in a forest reservation in New York State. The animal's plight attracted attention and solicitude. The countryside was aroused and rescue parties organized. People came from miles around to see the sight and, deeply moved, camped out for days in an eager desire to help. All sorts of ingenious plans were devised for saving the deer. A wooden bridge was built and swung over a chasm to the shelf of rock to which the animal clung, in the hope that he would understand this means of escape. By this time the newspapers heard of the story, and became excited. Special reporters and photographers were speedily despatched to the scene. Articles and pictures appeared through a succession of days in the metropolitan press. All this for one wild creature in casual distress upon a mountainside! And when "the open season" begins a few weeks hence, hundreds of men with guides and dogs and rifles will plunge into these same woods, and scour this same mountain, and hunt and kill this deer, and thousands of other deer, in the high name of "sport"! All of which is a parable of *War!* For isn't this exactly what we do with men? Here is a little boy who is struck by an automobile in a city street. An excited and sympathetic crowd immediately gathers. The police take charge; an ambulance arrives; the stricken youth is hurried to a hospital. Here the whole vast machinery of the greatest and most beneficent of social institutions is set in motion to save this boy's life. A distinguished surgeon, equipped with the best knowledge and skill of the age, operates upon his injured body; trained nurses watch and tend him day and night; physicians care for him with anxious attention. A great newspaper starts a fund for this unfortunate slum child, and hundreds of dollars are contributed by sympathetic readers. At last the boy is healed—as well and strong as ever. And a few years later, war is declared; the government seizes this boy, now man grown, for the army; and he is in due course blown to bits on the battlefront. And it is said that man is sane!

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## Jottings

UNITY has waited sixteen years for the recognition of Russia, which it has advocated from the beginning. All things come to him who waits—especially if he is right!

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We used to laugh when Mellon was described as the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Hamilton. But this idea seems now to be not so extravagant—since Morgenthau took the Treasury! There were depths below Mellon, after all.

---

The American Legion is preparing to combat crime. Good! And a good place to begin is in the American Legion.

Chancellor Dollfuss, of Austria, has the idea, apparently, that the way to save his country from the German Nazis is to Nazify it himself. Well, there have been men who have killed themselves rather than be slain. Why not nations?

---

The Trocadero in Paris is about to be torn down, we are told, because it is "so ugly." On this principle, whole cities in America would have to go.

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When in all our history was the Vice-President of the nation so completely lost as now? Let's see!—what is the name — er of that — er — er — man from Texas?

J. H. H.

# Advance Movements in Judaism*

Normative Judaism, as George Foot Moore called the Judaism of the Torah†, advanced by the slow but steady process of constitutional interpretation. All innovation had to be sanctioned by the scripture or its undoubted implication. That this method proved satisfactory to the Jewish people is revealed by the fact that in more than 2,000 years of trial, only two serious heterodox movements sprang up—the Karaite and the Chassidic. Even these movements might be classified as strict interpretationists and ultra-liberal interpretationists of the Torah—the constitution of Jewish life. They were psychological or temperamental rebellions rather than theologic. Normative Judaism sloughed them off and went right on building its fences around its trinity of concepts, God, Israel and the Torah. The Torah was the bridge by which God came to Israel and Israel came to God.

The first movement to upset this trinity of concepts was the Reform Movement which appeared in Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century. All other advance movements have taken their cue from Reform either as model or point of departure.

Dissatisfaction with the legalism of talmudic Judaism prepared the ground but the "Emancipation" was the compelling impetus to Reform. When Napoleon called together the Sanhedrin of Jewish notables in 1806, he forced upon them the false alternative of choosing between Jewish nationhood and French nationhood. For a man who played so fast and loose with the provincial loyalties of the European peoples, it is strangely ironical that he should have foisted upon the Jews a chauvinistic Nationalism. When the majority of notables of the Sanhedrin accepted French citizenship at the cost of denying the peoplehood of Israel, they placed upon Reform a yoke of troubles which it has not yet succeeded in shaking. Denying nationality, Reform defined the Jews as a religious community, marked by a special genius for religion. Religion, in turn, it defined as the operation of the moral law through conscience and reason. Then, strangely enough, Reform opposed inter-marriage between Jews and Gentiles on the ground that the peculiar religious genius of the Jew might be diluted by intermarriage. Reacting to the ceremonial meticulousness of Orthodoxy, Reform shifted its emphasis from ritual to prophetic zeal for justice and righteousness.

All the mistakes of Reform have come home to roost. Some were due to the naiveté, and short-sightedness of early leaders, and some to their honest misreading of the signs of the times. Reform substituted for the manyplied divine legislation of Normative Judaism, the moral imperative of Kant. Still, it lacked the full courage of its conviction and tried to buttress conscience with a few choice ceremonials selected and modernized from traditional Judaism. Many Jews have outgrown Kant, while others, like those who joined the Ethical Culture Society, decided that morality and ethics could be independent of the shreds and fragments of theology with which Reform insisted on clothing its moral absolutes. Reform insisted that Jews were spiritual geniuses with a special mission to spread their afflatus among the nations, but surrounded itself with such a cautious respectability as to stifle religious ardor of any kind. For a people of religious genius, Reform Jews are surprisingly barren of religious achievement in poetry, music, art, or even of a single personality of great mystical ardor.

Reform emphasized the teachings of the prophets in contradistinction to the prosaic and practical demands of traditional Judaism. The latter knew the limited spiritual horizon of the average man and prescribed tasks small enough for his capacities. Reform conceived every individual as a spiritual giant who would from birth walk humbly, do justly, and love the Lord, his God. As a matter of fact, Reform, too anxious to enjoy its newly obtained civic and political rights, emasculated the teachings of the prophets. It kept them in the high and thin air of wishful thinking. They became a manner of speaking and nothing more. They needed implementing. To implement them required some very radical changes in the fundamental political and economic structure of society. The Jews who found themselves in the Reform temples of Germany and America were successful middlemen. They were satisfied with the status-quo. They found it a little inconvenient that their religion took its chief inspiration from the prophets—but salved their conscience by recalling that the shaggy men of Israel and Judea could hardly expect to be taken seriously in a Machine Age. Those who could not quite drown the still small voice with such specious reasoning, gave generously to charity as a form of practical penitence. In the realm of the personal life, Reform Judaism was as effective as most high, ethical religions. It contributed much, no doubt, to the deep sense of responsibility, honesty, and family loyalty in the average Reform Jew. It has failed, like most religions, in its social responsibility. Had it bravely faced the problems of economic injustice and war, it would have attracted many of the gifted young Jews who have sought in Socialism, the peace-movements, and a myriad of other left movements, an outlet for the social idealism which is so strong within them.

Two rabbis on the Pacific coast attempted to turn their Reform congregations into Humanistic bodies. They tried to dissolve the pious generalities of the prayerbook into the definite techniques of social action. Thinking that the concept of God, and the formal ritual meant so little in the life of the average congregant, these rabbis decided to give up the concept of a personal God and the supernatural sanctions that cling to the belief in him. They meant to identify religion with the struggle for human betterment in the many particular issues in which that struggle was waged.

They both failed. They discovered that a people will cling tenaciously to ideas or words which they may not be able to fill with any definite meaning. But mostly, they discovered that such Jews as were courageous enough to desire a fundamental reordering of our social structure, joined movements with more specific aims than a Humanist congregation could have, while such Jews as had much to lose from change were no more altruistic than non-Jews in a similar position. Counteracting those Jews who were radical because of their minority and handicapped position, were those Jews who bent backwards as conservatives because they

*Third article in series, "Trends in Present-Day Religion." The author, Dr. Jacob J. Weinstein, formerly director of the Hillel Foundation and occupying a pulpit in Austin, Texas, and in 1932 counselor of Jewish students at Columbia University, is now writing for the Jewish and the general press.

†Torah is used here, not in its narrow meaning of the Five Books of Moses—but in its broader meaning as divine revelation, written and oral, plus the method of instruction by which it is taught and applied.

felt that a minority group is in no position to inaugurate new social forms.

The failure of Reform to measure up to its prayer book maxims deserves no more nor less criticism than the failure of any religion to live up to its highest ideals. The special circumstances that the sons and daughters of the early Reform Jews made such good use of, the boundless economic opportunities of America, converted the Temple into a house of worship for the well-to-do. The well-to-do attracted their social equals so that the Temple has become, in large measure a phase of the social life of the Jews—kept going not so much by its own momentum as, on the one hand, by the wall of social ostracism erected by the gentile community, and on the other hand by the social ambitions of some "climbing" Jews.

It is, however, on the issue of the status of the Jew that Reform made its most grievous mistake. There were many mitigating circumstances, indeed, which led the early leaders to deny the nationhood of Israel. A chance at the big wide world of the Gentile was not easy to renounce. The landlessness of the Jew and the growing difficulty of maintaining civic autonomy in the modern state made his nationality tenuous indeed. The Torah which had served as land, language and national symbol had been encrusted with the rabbinic mould of pilpul. Above all, the spirit of tolerance and emancipation had blossomed in the wake of Napoleon. Cultured Gentiles drank tea at Jewish salons. Lessing spoke of his "dear, dear friend" Moses Mendelsohn and this savant spoke of being "a Jew at home and a man abroad." Mendelsohn translated the Bible into German that his children might dilute their heritage into their life as Germans. They did so with vengeance. They were baptized. The early Reform leaders cannot be too much blamed if they thought that the brotherhood of man had actually come upon earth. They were impatient with the Ghetto-Jew, the Orthodox Jew. They said: "Shave your beard, change your outlandish costume and become Russian among the Russians, German among the Germans." The sad fact is that the masses of Christians did not emulate the great Lessing. They clung to their prejudices. Even the cultured Germans discovered that they could just as well hate the Jew for being too much *like* them as they had formerly disliked him for being so *unlike* them.

The Dreyfus Case dramatized this truth effectively. An assimilated Viennese Jew, Theodor Herzl came suddenly to the realization that the people of Israel was a nation in every sense of the term. It needed only a land to give its nationality the form in which it could be recognized by other nations. Neither Herzl, nor Achad Haam, nor Pinsker, the philosophers of Zionism, wanted to add another nation-state to the many that were already competing for hegemony. They visualized a nation that would be the embodiment of the truest Hebraic culture not only for the minority of Jews that might live in Palestine but for all the Jews wherever they might live. They anticipated, or at least they hoped, that the states amidst which the Jews were destined to live would develop a cultural pluralism or tolerance for hyphenated cultural groups like Jewish-Americans, Irish-Americans, etc. The leaders of Reform had nothing but contempt for such reasoning. They loathed Zionism because they claimed that it narrowed the universal teachings of prophetic Judaism. We have seen how little they stood by the teachings of the prophets. They meant even less by their declarations of Universalism. While they called Zionists, chauvinistic, they were among the most vocal 100 per cent Americans or little Englanders. They insisted on calling themselves *"Deutsche Buerger des Mosaiches Glaubens"* and worked with Prussian efficiency for *"Deutschland Ueber Alles."*

It is for this reason that Reform has been marking time. As long as it fails to recognize the nationhood of Israel, it will be tangent to Jewish mass life and with the disappearance of social anti-Semitism will serve as a door of assimilation to the Gentile world.

Conservative Judaism, whether it be the right wing of Reform or the left wing of Orthodoxy, has enjoyed the benefits of the transitional period. Those who think Reform has gone too far and those who feel that Orthodoxy has not gone far enough in its adjustment to modern conditions are finding a temporary haven in it. Its leaders are friendly to Zionism—but it is definitely an opportunist movement and, judging by its program of education, has not come to honest grips with the fundamental problems of Jewish life. In matters of theology it lacks the occasional candor of Reform.

The most thorough-going attempt to reconstruct Judaism in terms meaningful to modern life and most worthy to be called an advance movement is that of Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan. Some years ago he founded the Society for the Advancement of Judaism and since then has elaborated his program for Jewish life. His following is small largely because he has been too much the thinker and teacher to develop the technique of group organization and he has been too honest to offer any program that entails less than herculean efforts on the part of the individual and the group.

He defines Judaism as a civilization—"as the funded cultural activity which the Jewish people has transmitted from generation to generation; as the living, dynamic process of intellectual, social and spiritual give-and-take of Jews in the course of their relationship to one another as individuals and as members of various groups."

Dr. Kaplan accepts "Nationhood" as part of a civilization. Therefore the upbuilding of Palestine is an essential part of his program. Except for the Jews who will live in Palestine, Jews will have a bi-cultural existence. They will be a community within a community. Their central institution will be the synagogue in its more traditional function as a *"Bet A'am,"* a community center. For this and other functions, the Jewish community will be organized as a "Kehiliah." The Kehillah will maintain the philanthropic institutions which the Jewish people now maintain as individuals. It will promote a fully developed system of Jewish education either supplementing the public school system or incorporating its curriculum within its own, somewhat after the manner of the Catholic parochial schools. Hebrew will be taught as well as English so that the Jewish child will be bi-lingual. A certain degree of autonomy in law in the settlement of domestic and personal litigation by a tribunal according to Jewish law will be maintained.

In other words, Dr. Kaplan accepts the fact that the Jews are people. He admits that the historical forces which have made them a people will not, unaided, keep them so. The example of Russia is proof enough that with anti-Semitism eliminated, there is no mysterious momentum of blood, tradition, or faith that will

keep Jews a people apart. But since anti-Semitism increases as the Jews become more and more like the people in whose midst they dwell and keeps them apart whether they will it or no, we might as well make a virtue of necessity and create for ourselves the most significant kind of Jewish life possible. Dr. Kaplan does not apologize for making a virtue of necessity. Most progress has been just that.

This is distinctly not a ghettoizing program. The ideology of the Jewish past is to be so re-interpreted and so enlarged as to encompass the best values of the civilization about the Jew. Nor will the Jew find that he is pouring too new a wine into old bottles. The humanistic emphases of the Jewish tradition, confirmed by the Jew's minority experience, has evolved a literature, a social idealism and patterns of group conduct that are in keeping with the finest aspirations of modern society. By working out the pattern of cultural pluralism by which the Jew can live as Jew and American, or as Jew and Englishman, he may humanize the present concept of nationalism and thus prepare the ground for that brotherhood of nationalities which is our best alternative to war and chaos.

We cannot begin to do justice to Dr. Kaplan's program in this space. Suffice it to say that it is the most comprehensive synthesis of the valid elements in the Jewish experience that has yet been presented. Granted that assimilation is not possible, even if desirable—that the classless, nationless world is still far off —that the ghetto no more than Palestine will give refuge to the larger part of Jewry—some such plan is inevitable. Whether one begins as an orthodox or a Reform Jew, a Zionist or a Yiddish Culturist, the desire to integrate one's Jewish interest with the rest of his life will lead to a reconstruction of the Jewish past and the building of the Jewish present on the lines that Dr. Kaplan suggests.

A hundred years ago the rise of a Hitler would have driven a third of the Jews back to the ghetto or the escape world of Chassidism; a third would have assimilated (had they been permitted); and another third would have been exterminated or exiled. Today when the Jew is thrust back upon himself he no longer finds the complete ghetto life which he once had as refuge. The winds of modern doctrine have blown it away. He is too much a reasoning being to hide in the mystic clouds. He will retire to his own garden and develop his universal spiritual hungers in his own way and give them his own names. The advance movement in Judaism is in some ways a retreat. It is a digging in—a return to the sources of the Jew's being and may prove a means of preserving some of humanity's most precious values.

JACOB J. WEINSTEIN.

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# Our Children's Patriotism

The children at our school gather together every Monday morning in their assembly hall to salute the flag. Two of the upper grade children have the honor of holding the flag on the platform while the rest of them recite the "pledge to the flag."

My own two children who had spent several years abroad were bored by this ceremony. "We didn't have to salute the flag in Austria, or Italy, or England," they complained. "Why must we here?"

I asked them what it was they said Monday mornings, and they rattled off the following phrases in the same monotone in which I had heard the children say them at school:

"I pledge 'legiance to the flag, an' to the 'public f'r which it stan's, one nation invisible, with liberty an' justice f'r all."

"What does invisible mean?" I asked innocently.

"It's indivisible," recollected the elder.

"T'isn't. It's invisible," countered the younger. "Anyhow, that's what I say."

"Well, but what does it mean?' I insisted.

"Invisible means you can't see it," explained the elder. "I don't know what indivisible means."

"How about allegiance?" I continued. "What does that mean?" They hadn't the remotest idea.

"Well, then, patriotism?" I queried. "What do you think patriotism is, anyhow?"

The younger, aged nine, shrugged her shoulders. The elder, aged eleven, suggested that it meant working for the social service without pay.

This ignorance I thought was rather deplorable. True, we, their parents who had lived through the fearful disillusionments of the Great War, shied from 100 percenter enthusiasms, and had endeavored to point out the superior loyalty of internationalism. The children, though quite willing to be internationalists, had apparently escaped any indoctrination of local patriotism, certainly a stepping stone to any intelligent internationalism.

I began to wonder what meaning patriotism had for their schoolmates who had spent all their lives in America and in American public schools. I went to the civics teacher and told her of my curiosity. She is an unusually intelligent teacher and she was curious herself. So she asked all of her classes of the sixth, seventh and eighth grades to write answers to the following questions:

(1) What does the word "patriotism" mean?

(2) What does the creed, "allegiance to the flag," mean?

They were not easy questions. Abstractions are difficult even for adults to define. But the answers were illuminating for various reasons. I found that my children were not alone in their ignorance.

Out of twenty-six children in the sixth grade, twelve answered that they did not know what the word "patriotism" meant. I quote a number of the more representative answers, without changing the original spelling or construction.

"I think that 'patriotism' means that you should be honest in all ways, and that you are going to fight for your country always, and not being a coward."

"Patriotism is loyalty to one's country there are to kinds of patriots professional patriots and real patriots."

"A patriotic citizen should respect his country, flag and other things."

"Patriotic Sitzen—patriotic Sitzen should be onist and do things that you should and do not steal and don't throw paper in schools and in parks."

"He helps his fellow-countrymen in their duties and does everything he can to help his government."

The seventh graders were more articulate. Out of

thirty-seven, all but three had something to offer. Among their answers were the following:

"'A patriotic person is a person who is honest and says nice things about his country."

"I believe that people should be willing to sacrifice for their country when the cause is a just one."

"A patriotic person is a person who believes in his country and is loyal and is willing to fight for it. The minute men in early America were patriotic."

"I think a good Patriotic person would sluit the flag and do everything to help his country. If war is called he shall go by his own will."

"A patriotic person is faithful to his country, respects its flag. He also does all he can to help make his country the best and to give his country the best that he has."

"A patriotic person is someone who helps its country and does good deeds every day or almost every day."

"A patriotic person is someone who obeys the law and respect the flag."

"A patriotic person is a person who honors his flag. He devotes his heart and energy to his country. He considers both sides of a question and stands for the right."

Children in the eighth grade seemed less bellicose than the younger ones. Each one had an answer and on the whole a thoughtful answer:

"A patriotic citizen is one who lives up to the laws and willing to help others. Try to help your country by doing what you think is right and try to make good from it. If you are poor keep up your good spirit and try to help your country."

"A patriotic person is a person who obeys the laws and is willing to do what he is asked."

"To be truthful and honest for your country and not only that but to anyone who is a friend. To be loyal to the laws, not disobey, and remember Light not heat. And remember that it is your country and for that reason make it be a country to be proud of."

"Patriotic citizens obey and respect all laws. They try to fight all wrong-doing of any kind. Violations of National, State, Local laws are scorned at by patriots. Their chief menace is anarchism."

"One who loves his fellowmen, obeys laws, and does what he thinks is right, not what the majority does."

"I think a patriotic person is a person that does what he is told by the right people."

"A person who obeys the laws and is willing to fight for his or her freedom either by speeches or with a gun and will stand up for his country at all times."

"A patriotic citizen is one who co-operates in every way within his power with the laws, daily life and etc. in his country. A good citizen must also carry out to the best of his ability the regulations and laws of the country he lives in."

To define the "pledge of allegiance" was far more difficult. Even though the children had obediently given lip service some forty times a year, it was the first time many of them had considered what it was they actually said. Eight of the twenty-six sixth graders frankly stated they did not know what the pledge meant. The others replied as follows:

"The pledge we say on Mon. morning is if you do what it says you're a patriot."

"The pleg of the Liggon means you should obey ever point in it."

"The plege of the flag means you believe in your country and love it and defent it in time of need."

"It means that you are a citizen of U. S. A. And in time of war you will fight for the flag."

"The Americans crede is a pledge of alegince in the U. S. A. The pledge of alegence is all right but the rest is just what someone els thinks, not you."

"I think the plegde of legions means your an honest citizen if you know it and you think well of your U. S. A."

"The pledge of allegence means that if you say it you honor the flag of the United States and will protect it from all enemys."

"We say the crede to our flag to show our appreciasion to the flag and our country."

"I think it means that you are *supposed* to respect our flag and think your government is perfect."

"The Pleage of the Leagen is said every Monday morning because to show that you aprisheate the fack that men went to war to give their lives for their country."

"When you slute the flage of U. S. A. on Monday It means that your loile."

The seventh graders were somewhat more articulate. Out of thirty-six only one had nothing to say.

"When we salute the flag we salute the country and the people who shed blood for this country. The pledge is a creed that we should try to live up to."

"It means that you are thinking about your country and you are trying to help it. Also it has a lot to do about the soldiers. When they are at war."

"It means that you are loyle to your country and to have America first."

"The crede means that you believe in your country and in liberty and freedom."

"The pledge of alligence is a pledge to your country which you promise to fullfil."

"The Americans' creed inspires me."

"The salute is the promise which all Americans should live up to and is the constitution of the United States."

"It is a pleag to your country and that you will help it if it needs you."

"It means that you believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people and for the people whose just powers have been derived from the consent of the government. A perfect nation one interseptible established upin those principles of freedom justice and humanity. for which American patriots sacrifice their lives and fortunes."

"It is a pledge to our country and a pledge for justice in the world."

"The American creed means to me that you should like your country, and not go around telling other people that the country you came from is better than ours."

"That you will be royal to the flag of the United States and will fight for its freedom."

The eighth-graders, about to enter high school, offered these answers:

"It means how loyal you are to your flag and to your country and that it is a nation of freedom and justice. And to remember that and do not be radical to all laws."

"I pleage a leagance to the flags of the United States of America and two the reboblick for wich it stands on nation indivisable with riblity and justice for all means that you pleage to United States do your best help in need."

"The saulut to the flag and saying the creed is a gesture to show your patriotism."

"The creed means to be loyal to the country."

"The creed to the flag is a most dear and sincere speech I have every heard."

"I think the salute to the flag and America's creed means that the government of the United States is for the people."

"It means that a person should be willing to give his or her fortune and if necessary his or her life to uphold the American government."

"It means that every child is growing up to be a patriotic citizen."

"I think the pledge to the flag means you acknowledge and worship the flag and republic for which it stands. I think the creed states for what this country was made. for everyone who takes part in government. A union which is bound together."

"My pledge to defend my country and its flag in time of war."

Our community is not representative perhaps, nor is our school. We pride ourselves on being unusually intelligent and displaying great interest in our school. Most parents are well educated and a large portion have college degrees. We are likewise a "patriotic" community. An aggressive chapter of the American Legion keeps all mouths locally hushed on economic or political radicalism. It may be the influence of this organization that metamorphosed the children's spelling of allegiance into approximations of "legion". Who knows? After all, this is the only organization they know that bears the symbol of "patriotism". These men went to fight for their country and that apparently is the test of patriotism. Yet for all their ignorance our children are not anti-social. In their own school community they govern themselves exceedingly well. They take responsibility for the care of their school grounds and for the conduct of each of the other. There is on the whole, excellent self-discipline and a gratifying community spirit. In their civics classes an intelligent survey of current problems both here and abroad is undertaken and most of the students actually learn to read the real news in a newspaper. Yet I feel that somehow or other our American children miss the essence of a profound loyalty that the children of other nations seem to have.

I doubt whether Mussolini's little Balilla and Hitler's young Germans would hesitate long in defining patriotism fervently, and I might add in excellent handwriting and composition. I do not advocate either form of "patriotism." It is as blind in its way as lip service to a "creed." Yet there is a warmth and enthusiasm and willingness to sacrifice for the common good which our politically immature youngsters would scarcely understand. Peace-time patriotism is no serious thing with us. Yet our whole civic life is shot through with vice, dishonesty, crookedness because we have so little peace-time patriotism. I wish that we did not have to wait for the hysteria of a war to enlist our children's loyalty and idealism into service for their country.

I wish that we might stop dealing in lovely generalities and tell them frankly how stupid we have been. How we went to war because we thought we could get more and better democracy that way. How we were disillusioned. How little we know about our own government. How we let ignorant boobs do most of our governing for us because we are busy making our livings and can't be bothered. How we have let things get from bad to worse until now we realize that life for everyone is like sitting on a volcano waiting for an eruption. How we wish we had done differently and how sorry we are and how we fervently hope that whether the volcano erupts or not they will profit from our bad example and be neither lazy nor stupid. And I wish we might apologize to them for making them recite pledges which they don't comprehend and promise them a little more cooperation in understanding what patriotism in its largest sense means—"not a song in the street and a wreath on a column and a flag in the window," but a way of life demanding the best in each for the common good of all.

DOROTHY BINDER.

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# Captains of Industry

[*From Our English Correspondent*]

"The view of Australia was that for the Conference to have achieved nothing, except to have brought about a limitation of production, or plans to that end, was indeed to have it deemed that the Conference had failed in the great task it set out to accomplish."—(Mr. S. M. Bruce, quoted in *Anglo-American Trade,* September, 1933.)

*Anglo-American Trade* lies before me on my desk. It is the monthly review of the American Chamber of Commerce, in London.

There is no mistaking the quality of the men who run this Chamber of Commerce. Their photographs are shown, with the Stars and Stripes in the background and a well-loaded luncheon-table peeping into the front of the picture, about belly-level. They are hard-headed men, almost to the point of appearing hard-boiled. They all look as though they had eaten indiscreetly; and at least one seems to be regretting it.

The president—one Powell—is, in contrast to his confrères, a smallish man, more elderly, with an expression rather like a rabbit about to be eaten by a fox. His speech, however, is recorded *in extenso;* and there is nothing of the rabbit about *that.* He believes England to be more prosperous than America, owing to four conditions:

1. No Prohibition; and consequently much revenue from the taxation of liquor.
2. No surplus of raw materials.
3. No capital profits tax.
4. No anti-trust laws.

He reviews events in America. The Morgan firm, he says, came out of the recent investigation with flying colors. President Roosevelt is doing wonders. Labor camps have been started in the State Forests, and Mr. Powell visited one in Connecticut. "The young men were having a wonderful time," he says, "the whole affair being organized by an army officer."

The Farm Relief Bill, Mr. Powell tells us, is one of the most important bills introduced by Roosevelt. He divides Americans into three classes: (1)

the farmers, (2) "the merchant and manufacturer who have the vision to learn what the market will absorb . . . ," (3) "the banking, financial and speculative element, *who administer the affairs of the country.*" (The italics are my own.)

The Farm Relief Bill was part of Roosevelt's prosperity program, "designed" (says Mr. Powell) "to raise the price of the basic products . . . In return for entering into the scheme for a guaranteed price for his wheat, the farmer was to agree to reduce his acreage."

An example of the practical working of the scheme appears on another page, in the following paragraph:

> In sixteen Southern States cotton farmers are now destroying growing cotton to the extent of about 25% of their present acreage—some 9,000,000 acres. The estimated yield this year of 13,000,000 bales will be reduced by about 3,500,000 bales. Under the Farm Relief Act, the farmers will be compensated by the Government for the destruction of the crop. They have the alternative of accepting cash payments or taking options on the 2,000,000 bales of Government-owned cotton at 6 cents a lb.

Now it is clear that if the Americans continue to destroy the raw materials of food and clothing as energetically as this, they will soon achieve prosperity; for has not Powell pointed out that we in Britain are more prosperous because we have no surplus of these things?

With grief I turn to a letter received yesterday from the States. "The President," writes my friend, "has suddenly become the Messiah, and it is blasphemy (also treason) to criticise him or question his policies. If he can bring prosperity back by these current devices, then we can all pull ourselves over fence-rails by our boot-straps." Thus is a prophet dishonored in his own country!

Turning back to *Anglo-American Trade,* I find confirmation for my wavering faith. As though to emphasize the success of the President's strategy, a quotation is given from the *Financial News:*

> The unexpectedly low estimate of the cotton crop, due to disease and weather conditions, gave markets a pleasant surprise.

Could Canute have attempted more? "Lo, even the winds and seas obey him!"

REGINALD A. REYNOLDS.

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# The Faith of Poetry*

Poetry is the faith of all faiths. The founders of all world-faiths that have swayed humanity—Jesus, Buddha, Confucius, Moses, Mohammed, Plato, Homer, Aknaton—the seers of all philosophies, mythologies, religions—have been the supreme poets of their varied faiths. Christian and pagan, gentile and Jew, underlying and supporting all their creeds is the faith of poetry—the creative law of imagination.

Its universal principle—the poetic principle—in name is well nigh forgotten by the parliaments of science, yet in the creations of science, of art and of religion, it is ever-present and all-enkindling.

Words are not its only revelation. Every symbol of faith is its utterance. A lonely cross on the twilit hill of Calvary; Apollo's dawn-gold head above the Parthenon; Prometheus' crag; Diana's bow-bright moon; Nirvana's cosmic navel of meditation: these have spoken the faith of poetry through its millions of votaries; even as today the silent distaff in the hand of Gandhi is eloquent, uttering its parable of ancient folk-art above the modern Babel of logic's forum.

Since the law of imagination is a natural law, reconciling in itself the faiths of Monism and Pantheism, it is only by preserving the integrity of each faith that the harmony of all can be realized. For it is only when faith would coerce faith, and thereby shatter the elements of its own integrity, that chaos descends on the contestants. So the wars of all crusaders, of whatever faith, are abortive. And so across the portal of our World Fellowship of Faiths should be blazoned this axiom:

*Delight in Diversity Is the Beginning of Fellowship.*

For diversity is nature's law, and nature can be neither coerced nor thwarted. No metric systems, however subtle, can substitute themselves for her poetic inspirations. No yardsticks of materialism can measure them accurately. No quantitative "standards" can compute her spiritual values. Nature knows not "standardization," for her beautiful diversities are the evolutionary expression of her own elemental needs, born of her divine fecundity.

Nature herself is the primal imaginer, the creator of metaphor, the artist of similitude through infinite differing images, wherein man, the poet, is the extension of her fingertips in architectures seen and unseen. All nature's forms—from her so-called lowest to her highest—are the numberless diversities of her single tabernacle, to which the poetic principle is the key of revelation.

In his "Defence of Poetry," Shelley defined the poetic principle—the functioning of natural law through imagination. He said: "Reason respects the *differences* and imagination the *similitudes* of things. Poetry is the expression of the imagination."

If, in that sentence, I may substitute for the word, "Reason," the word, "Logic" (which, I think, conveys the meaning more clearly), then in that one sentence are implicit the wars and the concords of all history.

Imagination creates art; logic incites argument. Under the dominion of Logic alone, each racial group, each separate faith, discerns and glorifies its *differences* from all other groups and religions. Within the communion of imagination, all groups discern and glorify their *similitudes.*

What, then, is the essence of that principle by which man has discerned and creatively combined "the similitudes of things"?

Today, explorers of the ether are invading the stratosphere to discover the creative principle of our universe in cosmic rays; explorers of the microscope are shattering atoms for nuclei of a material world ever more elusive; explorers of biology are deducing the invisible, ultimate, procreative gene of the germ-cell of life.

In accord with such precedents, as one explorer of the psychic world of poetry, I would deduce from the

*From a paper read before the World Fellowship of Faiths, Chicago, 1933.

insights of other poet-explorers, this corollary: that the essential principle which reveals "the similitudes of things"—the very gene of the spirit germ-cell that bourgeons a Shakespeare, an Aeschylus, an Isaiah—is the principle of *metaphor.*

Igniting the mind, that spark reveals the universe in its varied similitudes, wherein at one flash the discords of diversity are reconciled, and the oneness of man and nature is shown splendidly diversified.

In thus unveiling horizons of the spirit, vastly impassioned, or tranquilly intimate, the uses of metaphor often are farthest-reaching when most strangely familiar, most spiritual when simply sensuous, and touch eternity in the lowliest parable.

So, in utterances of Old Testament poets—in "the ox and his master, the sheep's white wool, the harlot city, the oak and its leaf, the tow and the spark, the mouth of the Lord, the wheel at the cistern, the feet on the mountains"—here, in the simplest garb of things common and material, the highest archangels of racial aspiration are clothed, and their spirit presences disclosed, by the poetic principle—the magic of metaphor that transmutes the senses and proclaims the law of similarity between worlds sensuous and spiritual.

And this magic is compassed by a kind of zest, or ecstasy,—common to all poetry and to all living faiths—a self-disciplined command of inward power which, in the most fervid utterances of an Isaiah, "begets (as Hamlet describes it to the Players at Elsinore) even in the very torrent of passion, a temperance that gives it smoothness."

At the heart of a thousand Christian hymns, the poetic principle—the thought-germ of metaphor—alone could suffice to express the ultimate power of integrity, connoting God, in apostrophes to the "Rock of Ages"—the "Fester Burg"—of the universe.

So, too, the conversion, the rebirth of the soul, which performs the deepest function of every living faith, is one and the same as that direct touch with nature which subsists in every living poem, as the utterance of its metaphoric principle; just as its counterpart—the discernment of similitude—subsists in the fellowship between disciple and master.

Thus the poetic principle becomes the technique of friendliness: "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you." For that admonition implies the *imagination* to discover and reflect mutual similitudes—the will to put oneself in another's place. And that sentient, well-nurtured will is the robust health of *love,* which "thinketh no evil"; but hatred, envy, jealousy, malice, dullness, are the diseases of malnourished imagination. So, summing up all the prophets in one faith, Jesus uttered supremely the Faith of Poetry, when he admonished each of us to "love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart and with all thy mind and with all thy soul—and thy neighbor as thyself."

In that dual utterance, imagination is epitomized, and the poetic principle recognized as the principle of love itself: in love of God—the direct touch with nature, the ecstasy, which is poetry's essence; in love of neighbor—the revealment of similitude, which is the function of metaphor.

This, then, is the triad of the faith of poetry:

*Imagination*—nature's revelation of her similitudes; *Ecstasy*—direct communion with nature's diverse oneness; *Premonition*—the sense of nature's self-expanding immortality.

PERCY MACKAYE.

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# Trumpets on New Horizons

### Eternal Pioneers

Men are but hurrying little ants who crawl
Forever back and forth on channelled paths,
And those who shun the pattern always fall
And pay the price in bitter aftermaths.

Such is the lot of all true pioneers,
The venturing little ants who dare to break
The walls of prejudice, the chains of fears,
To seek horizons where the soul may slake

That ancient thirst for truth which yet shall win.
What if they must endure a holocaust?
They lead the vanguard through the dust and din
And, though they fall, their cause is never lost.

LUCIA TRENT.

### In the "5 and 10"

I raise a dome of silence above my ears.
I draw a circle of darkness around my eyes.
The thousand objects fade. Each interferes
'Till my light is broken to bits and my music dies.

For the cobra's poison is less than the poison of noise
And the tiger is less destructive than clutching Things.
The bite of danger is soothed by danger's joys,
But who could live when stung by these thousand stings?

MARY OWEN LEWIS.

### Dark Voices

Dark voices in cavern pits are mumbling,
Sepulchral from many years' entombment
Untouched by the groping fingers of the sun.
Their sounds dull the sharpened edge of glitter,
Nor do their flashing accents fail to slit
The veil darkness folds about them endlessly.

Listen! Their voices are barbed groans of anguish
Throaty from indeterminate suppression
And their brightness is a shadow stalking down a lane.

And yet their voices ever rumble volcanic;
A groan burdened with the agony of hoping
Leaps up suddenly and stampedes the world.

Everywhere hunger lashes men with panic.
Eyes are red, weeping for ragged children;
Mothers whom no longer feed bread.

Ears cannot be sealed against dark voices
Nor electric chairs hush them forever.
Tyrants itched to choke dark voices and ever failed.

Dark voices burrow under mountains,
Crouching in the lair of some unslain dragon,
Waiting to snort fire and lick up the earth in hatred.

JOSEPH LEISER.

### The Ultimate

Noiselessly the pendulum of an ordered universe
Swings back and forth, marking God's time:
The regularity of the seasons, the ebb and flow of tides—
The strange pull of the moon upon the earth—
Divine rhythm of the cosmic spheres:
And silently, in His own way, the ages pass on and on
Bringing nearer the consummation of man's long climb—
Universal Brotherhood.

AUGUSTA MOORE GIBBLE.

# The Study Table

## The Far East

An unusually competent and conscientious piece of work is Robert T. Pollard's "China's Foreign Relations, 1917-1931."[1] The time covered is from the entry of China into the world war to the Mukden incident which initialed a new period. No effort is made to deal with the present situation. The author is young, sympathetic, optimistic. He has himself had a Chinese experience. He rigidly confines himself to his theme and his materials are almost exclusively drawn from diplomatic documents. We are thankful that he holds to the old system of footnotes—far more satisfactory to a serious reader than to have them at the end of a section or the close of the book. His footnotes and references are clear and accurate; when explanatory or expression of opinion they are worth reading and to the point. The period covered bristles with important events. China's entrance into a war in which she really had no stake in hope of resultant benefits, Japan's twenty-one demands, the effort to be heard at the peace table, her refusal to sign the Versailles Treaty, the Washington Conference, the slowness of the nations to carry out its promises, the effort toward tariff antonomy, the anti-foreign drive of 1927, unilateral denunciation of extraterritoriality—are among the events that mark the period. China has really gained much. The war ended German and Austrian enjoyment of extraterritoriality; the condition of things in Russia led to their loss of privileges irksome to China; tariff autonomy has been achieved; treaties have been made with new or minor governments, in which disadvantageous conditions do not enter; the period of other treaties running out has permitted discussion and led to conditional gains which may become actual. Every friend of China must feel satisfaction at these gains. We do not feel as sanguine of the future as does Dr. Pollard. We recommend his book heartily but advise the simultaneous reading of two other books—one now a little old, Tyau's "China Awakened," the other new, Bland's "China, the Pity of It." Tyau's book shows the Chinese skill in putting words together, which may or not state facts, and the blind optimism of Western-educated Chinese. Bland speaks from fifty years of actual Chinese experiences and believes that China's only hope lies in outside nations taking charge of her affairs for an indefinite period. Pollard quotes a paragraph that was written by a Chinese at the moment of their disappointment at Paris: "From now on they would concentrate more attention on international relationships of China and devote less time to internal politics." Many friends of China feel that she would make more rapid advance in international relationships, if she would give more time to internal politics. China's methods of diplomacy are typically represented by her dealings with Russia in 1929. She then counted upon the hostile attitude of western nations to Russia (Soviet Russia) and upon the Kellogg Pact. She was mistaken in both counts. In introducing his presentation of the Chinese Eastern Railroad imbroglio Dr. Pollard says:

> Some one has remarked after a study of Chinese diplomatic history that the negotiations of a treaty has usually meant the beginning rather than the end of a trouble between China and the power concerned.

Whoever said it—for our author does not tell us—it is a shrewd statement. To make treaties which it intended to impugn at the first possible occasion and to involve other nations in squabbles are the two most marked characteristics of Chinese diplomacy.

It is now more than a year since Manchoukuo was established and it is fitting that we should take stock of the situation. In "Manchoukuo, Child of Conflict,"[2] Mr. K. K. Kawakami gives us the story in its most favorable light. It is so easy to find the matter presented in hostile fashion, that this book is welcome. What Kawakami writes is always interesting, usually informative, naturally and necessarily partisan. His writing usually shows haste and with haste minor slips. Thus, he tells us that on March 12 (1932), the Manchoukuo Government cabled seventeen nations announcement of the advent of the new State; in the next sentence he says "the fifteen countries were" and lists them; counting the countries listed we find fourteen. Of course it makes little difference whether there were seventeen, or fifteen, or fourteen, but one likes to have statements accord. In a table on page 202, we are told that the Salt Gabelle is hypothecated to foreign creditors in stated amounts. Do the figures refer to dollars, pounds, yens, yuans, or taels? Not that it makes much difference or that many readers will care to know, but such a statement shows haste and lack of care. It would be easy to pick out other examples, but we are not indulging in carping criticism and are truly glad to have this general, comprehensive, well-documented book. Whether Manchoukuo can hold remains to be seen; whether Japan can carry the burden she has assumed is doubtful—it is a heavy burden and may prove to be a thankless task. Your reviewer wishes it success. It is the natural outcome of the events of the last dozen years. Perhaps it is the solution of a difficult problem. Kawakami begins with the incident of September 18, 1931, and comes down to the moment of publication. Of the famous "explosion" he says: "The Explosion was not physical—it was moral, political, and even spiritual. Unless it is viewed in this light, its true meaning will never be understood." It, at least, started the train of events which eventuated in the formation of the new State. Anyone who wants to know about this "Child of Conflict" must read the book. Several chapters stand out as especially important. *Regionalism in Manchuria, Wangtao, Henry Pu-Yi, Manchoukuo's Helmsmen, Manchoukuo's Foreign Relations* are such. Westerners who will read the chapter on *Wangtao* (the way of the King) may perhaps gain a useful glimpse into Oriental thought. If China could have found someone who was recognized as representing *Wangtao*—instead of Changs and Chiangs, and Koos and C. T. Wangs—things in China might have pursued a happier course. So far Japan alone has recognized Manchoukuo. Much depends upon the London Conference in June. If France does not have her way at London, she is likely to recognize Manchoukuo within six months—if Manchoukuo holds out until then. Russia will follow close after her. Others, in course of time. Whether we will be kept out by the Stimson doctrine remains to be seen; we will lose if we do so. Prophecy is thankless and the times are uncertain. Still we have

1. "China's Foreign Relations, 1917-1931." Robert J. Pollard. New York: 1933. The Macmillan Co. 8 vo. pp. xi. 416. Price $3.50.

2. "Manchoukuo, Child of Conflict." K. K. Kawakami. New York: 1933. The Macmillan Co. 16 mo. pp. xi. 311. Price $2.00.

ventured to state the probable. Kawakami repeatedly minimizes the importance of recognition. Thus, he says:

True, Manchoukuo has been clamoring for recognition as a matter of principle. As a practical matter, however, I doubt that recognition is desired by Manchoukuo in the immediate or even near future. I have a sneaky feeling of suspicion that neither Japan or Manchoukou really wants recognition, at least for some years to come.

They are not anxious to have too many hostile critics on the scene during what is an experimental period, involving faults and flaws.

No more romantic story of expansion has occurred in history than that of Russia. Geographically, Russia is

a vast plain stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea and to the Pacific Ocean. This plain covering Eastern Europe and Northern Asia is divided by a chain of mountains, the Urals, stretching north-south and forming the geographic frontier between the two continents. The mountains are not of height to make a formidable barrier and they end at 51° N.—so that populations have swept back and forth over that great plain, in considerable part desert.

The Russians were rather late to emerge into history and first appear as a Slavic nation with a Norse dynasty in control in the ninth century.

If the Norsemen gave the Russians their political body, it was Byzantium which gave a soul to the new nation by giving it its religion. With the Greek Orthodox Church, the influence of Byzantine culture in Russia became paramount. Kiev grew to great splendor.

But the new state was in the track of the fierce invaders from the East.

For eighteen centuries in an ever-recurring regular rhythm Asia aggressively dominated the steppe zone.

The Russians were driven from Kiev to the northeast where, in the shelter of the forests, they developed new strength. The decisive combat took place in 1380 in the battle of Kulikoro.

Up to that date the Russians were on the defensive against the assaults of Asia, but thereafter they were to take the offensive, which eventually carried them into Asia.

It is the story of that expansion eastward which is told by A. Lobanov-Rostovsky in "Russia in Asia."[3] It was an expansion which swept across the whole of Northern Asia, leaped across Behring's Sea in America and struck southward until it met and almost threatened England and Spain in their possessions. The first great explorations were through Siberia. The expeditions encountered every danger and overcame every obstacle. They were scientifically equipped and added vastly to world knowledge. Settlements were undertaken, developments were started. Finally Russian and Chinese areas touched, difficulties arose. The first treaty of China with a western nation was signed in 1689. Central Asia was reduced; tribe after tribe yielded. Russian Turkestan was organized. English interests were threatened; fears arose regarding India; rivalries developed in Afghanistan. Slowly, unceasingly, the attempt to reach a Pacific port open through the year was carried on. Manchuria was occupied; Korea was dominated. The war with Japan caused a momentary check, a rolling back. With the World War came difficulties and with the Revolution of 1917 chaos. The great empire, so laboriously built up, seemed to crumble. The reconstruction is one of the marvels of political organization.

We see, therefore, that out of the tremendous turmoil of the five years following 1917 which plunged Russia into a state of chaos verging on a complete breakdown, there emerged a new Russia. If we now compare the map of the former Russian Empire in Asia with that of the Soviet Union, we are surprised to see that except for a small loss of territory in Transcaucasia where the region of Kars was regained by Turkey, the border lines of the Russian dominions remain the same. All the territories which had detached themselves during the period of anarchy were again reunited, order reemerged, and to the mind of the writer this is a conclusive proof of the extraordinary stability of the work accomplished in Asia by the Russian nation during four centuries. No more acid-test of such stability can be found in the history of any nation than those fateful first years of the Russian Revolution. However, the structure of Asiatic Russia underwent a momentous change; from having been a united empire it became a Federation of Soviet Republics.

What of the future? To many of us it looks ominous. Lobanov-Rostovsky believes Russia will turn her back on Europe and center her interests eastward, but regarding the rights of great Asiatic nations. Perhaps so: we shall see.

The title of this new book on Chinese thought and practice[4] seems somewhat broader than the field occupied. Granted that religion and fetish occupy enormous space in Chinese life, yet they do not make up the whole of "The Mind of China." Our author was for years professor of Sociology in the College of Yale in China and is now on the faculty of Dartmouth College. Before he went to China he studied Anthropology under Professor Keller to whom he dedicates this book. He thus had a training which few mission workers have had. Of course he has the Sumner attitude, is saturated with "Folkways" and over-uses the useful but hard-worked word "mores." He has brought together an enormous amount of valuable material. A series of chapters deals with the world of spirits, death and ghost fear, and the nature, location and functions of the soul. Three chapters then discuss fetishism, animal fetish and shamanism. We feel that the author over-emphasizes the *ghost* origin of fetish—surely in China, as elsewhere, there are spirits which were never in humans. It is open to question too whether *mana* (and its like) have aught to do with ghosts. The potato carried in the pocket to cure rheumatism among overselves is scarcely inhabited by a human ghost. Our author equates the shaman with the man-fetish. After reading his chapter we are still convinced that fetish-man is a better term for him. But these are minor matters and we do not desire to quibble. Magic, charms, exorcism, astrology, augury, taboos, ancestor worship, heroes, cults and sects are studied, all interesting and all important. The final chapter on the modern temper of China is, on the whole, disappointing. The author throughout, as is fitting in one who has an anthropological background, avoids the obnoxious use of the word *superstition,* but he seems to feel that the Chinese *mores* have a lag that is harmful, or even inexcusable. It is a little curious that in a book of this kind the dedication to Keller is largely a Greek quotation and one can hardly understand how the author has permitted his publishers to date the book with MDCCCCXXXIII. However the volume represents much field-work, wide reading and serious labor in the presentation of material and drawing of conclusions. It is an important contribution to a significant field of study.

FREDERICK STARR.

3. "Russia in Asia." A. Lobanov-Rostovsky. New York: 1933. The Macmillan Co. 8 vo. pp. ix. 334. Price $2.50.

4. "The Mind of China." Edwin D. Harvey. New Haven: MDCCCCXXXIII. Yale University Press. 8 vo. pp. xi. 321. Price $3.50.

# Correspondence

### Patriotism Limited

Editor of UNITY:

The prophet's vision of a world at peace can never be realized unless and until the citizenry of the nations becomes intelligently aware of the active and deadly menace of the traffic in armaments. There are 8,000,000 men under arms in Europe; the United States is in the midst of the biggest naval construction program that this country has ever seen; the Disarmament Conference is deadlocked; and Hitler is calling for a revision of the Treaty of Versailles. The entire world is treading the sunken road to Waterloo!

If military men have a predilection for war—and we know they have—and if the state believes only in the efficacy of force—and we know that it does—and if the armament business is booming—and we know it is—this rapid increase in the military man-power and armaments of the nations can result in but one thing—war. War, complicated by violent revolutions!

The last war saved the world for democracy, which is now called dictatorship; it saved the world for liberty, which is now called fascism; it saved the world from militarism, which is now called national security; it saved capitalism and Christianity for Russia, but they are now called Communism and atheism respectively; it saved Italy for Mussolini and Germany for Hitler; and last, but not least, it saved the shirt makers and builders of armaments. Incidentally, the World War destroyed, from first to last, about 40,000,000 young lives; but human life is cheap, business is business, and the market for shirts and munitions must be maintained!

The Union of Democratic Control, 34 Victoria Street, London, England, has just issued a new booklet, dealing with the armament octopus, whose tentacles are spread over the earth like a gigantic spider web. This booklet is sold at 20 cents, the cost of publication, by the War Resisters League, 171 W. 12th Street, New York City. And if it were disseminated in America as it deserves, this pamphlet would shake this people, from the lowest stratum to the highest, as it has not been shaken since Shaw's "Common Sense" set the sparks flying.

Nobody is encouraged to enquire what goes on inside an armament factory. The people are not supposed to be conversant with the dirty business that is to encompass their destruction. Armament making is as completely secret as the trade in noxious drugs. But the Union of Democratic Control has succeeded in laying bare an amazing number of the ramifications involved in the bloody traffic.

The U. D. C. has exposed the secret collection of orders by secret agents disbursing secret bribes; it has apprehended the secret loading of steamers bound for secret destinations; it has charged Patriotism Ltd. (which it chooses to call the arms traffickers) before a League of Nations Commission with playing on national animosities and fomenting war scares for their own profit; with bribing Government officials; and with subsidizing newspapers to stimulate arms expenditures.

These charges before the League Commission were made in 1921; the book in which they were published has passed into five editions; whilst the armorers it indicted and the newspapers supporting them have maintained a guilty silence on its facts.

The new booklet, "Patriotism Ltd.," brings into the open the story of the steady rearming of Europe and America at the behest of Patriotism Ltd., throughout the two years of the Disarmament Conference. It proves that the members of the armament ring, while claiming to be patriotic, have supplied all countries, friendly and hostile alike, with armaments; and that they have sent propagandists of hate to Geneva to hinder the achievement of disarmament.

This unforgettable booklet, "Patriotism Ltd.," should have been called The World Crisis, for the sorry scheme of things it portrays is irrefutable proof of the fact that the "times that try men's souls" are soon to be with us again. And our only hope is that some new Paine will arise and call for a declaration of independence from the brutal and despotic reign of Patriotism Limited.

*South Charleston, Ohio.* R. J. WESTLAKE.

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## The Field

*(Continued from Page 118)*

lives, often their own children's, of their livelihood.

3. To awaken executives to their responsibility of trafficing in human blood.

Mrs. Mowrey, the young wife of a clergyman, formerly a missionary in China, with two young children, drove to New Haven with me in my three-year-old Ford coupe. We had asked the superintendent of the Winchester Repeating Arms Co. for an interview. It took two letters to explain our reason for coming. We were courteously received by two executives who had planned their answers beforehand to any questions we might ask. The salient points of this interview were that they tried to make us believe that they made no money out of the war, that they mostly manufactured skates and cutlery and that they were shipping gun powder to South America. Germany had underbid them to Japan.

I asked the older man if he realized that the gun powder being sent to South America might destroy his own children in the course of events, as the ammunition furnished Turkey before the Great War by Vickers in England, killed Englishmen at Gallipolis? "Very probably!" was his answer.

Mrs. Mowrey had the good idea of having petitions to the President for the executives and workers to sign. She asked these men to sign and they refused as they said whatever their personal opinions might be, their positions in a munition factory would not allow it. I asked them if they did not think it the worst thing that could happen to anyone, not to be able to follow one's conscience? "It is a question of survival; if I were beginning life over again I would not go into munition making," answered one man.

We have interviewed and picketed the Winchester Repeating Arms Co., New Haven, Conn., the Remington Arms Co., Bridgeport, Conn., the largest we have been to and now owned by the Duponts; the Richardson and Harrington Arms Co., Worcester, Mass. We interviewed the head of the office force at the Springfield Armory as the major in charge was at lunch and Mrs. Mowrey had a sick child she had to to get home too, so we could not picket and we were a long way

from home. This man asked us why we came to a government factory as Congress gave them their orders. I asked him if he remembered that an ex-ambassador to Germany had been quoted in the press as saying several years back, that 48 men governed the United States and the President was not one of them. "Ambassador Gerard," he answered. "Yes," I said, "and we know that many, if not all, our Congressmen take their orders from some one back home like Senator Bingham of Conn., who has lately prevented Congress from giving the President the right to declare an embargo on arms. The financiers give you your orders for munitions to protect their property or because they belong to the International Munition Trust." "This is very interesting," he answered. "You ladies have your hands full."

Mrs. Mowrey and I, a poor second, got a few signatures from the workers to her petition which was to this effect, "We, the undersigned employees in the ———— Arms Co., beg you, Mr. President, to do all in your power to bring about universal disarmament and permanent peace." We found that many workers were afraid to sign for fear of losing their jobs, but the ones who did sign were the intelligent, keen-eyed workers. I know of no other petitions to the President coming from munition workers. We were told by some of these men that we could not believe what the executives told us about the quantity of arms being made nor the fact that they did not make money during the war.

At the Remington Arms Co. we were very well received by the executive who was very much interested in what we had to say. He was the cleverest official and I imagine sincere.

John Harrington, however, was not clever. He cursed at us and told us the sooner we left town the better pleased he would be. "What business did two silly, sentimental women have to come and interfere with a man's business?" I answered that we were on the contrary very practical as we knew from Mr. Shearer and Charles Dumont of France that munition manufacturers helped to bring about wars for which Mrs. Mowrey and I and millions of other peace lovers had to pay for in tears, the blood of our dearest, pestilence, famine, and higher and higher taxes. It was decidedly our business and we did not mean to allow him and his like to go on with what they were pleased to call "their business."

We intend to picket again in two weeks and hope to have several recruits.

ELSA TUDOR.


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